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WHAT ARE THEY AFRAID OF ?



MAGGIE THATCHER says it's here, and Willie Whitelaw grudgingly agrees with her. Enoch Powell, of course, invented it and our Home Secretary, described as a liberal who has to act like a reactionary (which is a fair description of any member of the Labour Party) admits that it has got to be taken into consideration. Everybody regrets it, and wishes it wasn't there, but there it is.

What is it? It is FEAR. The British nation is riddled with it, so we are told. This once proud nation which straddled the earth with its long khaki shorts and its bayonets; which marched East, West, North and South, building the Empah on which the sun never set; which stood alone in the dark days of 1940 waiting for the enemy's mistakes which brought us the USA and the USSR as allies in the cause of freedom; this lion-hearted race of heroes quakes in its shoes, shivers in its bed o' nights and whimpers for someone to please come and drive away the bogeyman.

And what are we afraid of? What is the nasty bogeyman going to do to us? He's going to destroy our Culture!

For those of you who didn't realise we had a culture, we had better try to recap some of the history that you did not listen to at school. First thing to have in a culture is a language - so we got together a language consisting mainly of Latin roots, which the Romans brought with them when they conquered 'us', to which has been added a lot of German, which the Saxons brought with them when they conquered 'us' and a lot of French, which the Normans brought with them when they conquered 'us'. There are remnants of lunatic fringe languages like Celtic, Gaelic, Welsh and whatever they talk in Brittany -- but the English stamped those out when 'we' started conquering 'them'. There are a few 'Anglo-Saxon' words remaining among the common people, but they are mainly rude four-letter words which we needn't mention here.



fear

(from pg 1)

So we have a language. Beautiful, fluent, flexible, descriptive and difficult for foreigners to learn, which gives us great pleasure and endless amusement, boosting our deep-seated conviction that all foreigners are stupid. We are a nation of about 50 million in a world of about 3,000 million and all the rest are stupid.

The second thing to have, once you have a language, is to have some masters of it. We are fortunate to have produced some of the world's greatest masters of the English language like Shakespeare. You will have heard of Shakespeare because Orson Welles made a film of one of his plays and there is a statue of him in Leicester Square (remember the great English musical song 'Goodbye Piccadilly, Farewell Leicester Square'). This shows that we are cultured and even Field-Marshal Goering, just before going to war with Britain, or England as they called it, said 'Whenever someone mentions Culture I reach for my Browning.' Browning of course was a famous English poet, which shows that even our enemies respect English culture.

Another way in which we are cultured is the way we love painting -- or at least paintings. In our National Gallery and other galleries up and down our scepter's isle (Shakespeare!) we have wonderful examples of the work of Constable (who was spat on when he first showed his rich, beautiful, natural-coloured landscapes) and Turner (who was denounced for 'throwing a pot of paint in the face of the public') and other well-loved British artists like Hockney. Perhaps more valuable, however, is the great wealth of our British culture as expressed in our ownership of many fine examples of paintings from the Italian Renaissance, the fine Dutch and Flemish Schools, the French and German Romantics and so on and so forth. Our high sense of cultural outrage is regularly stimulated when one of these fine examples of our cultural heritage -- brought back to our island home by one of our ancestors after a resounding victory over the foreigner -- is sold to some rich swine from another country.

One of the greatest examples of English culture is our possession of the Elgin Marbles, not, as you might think, some child's plaything, but a wonderful piece of sculpture made by some Greeks (an obscure Mediterranean people) and sited originally out of doors (!) in a place they quaintly call The Parthenon.



Thank goodness Lord Elgin rescued these fine cultural items and, renaming them after himself (we don't know their original name), put them in a place better befitting their supreme eminence as part of British culture: the British Museum, where they properly rest to this day.

So there's our real culture, or Haute Couture, as we call it. It does of course result in a very high standard of living for our cultured populace. English people all live in very high quality houses, eating the roast beef of Old England for almost every meal except when they eat fish 'n' chips (Cultural note: this is a real Olde English way of spelling) out of a newspaper. This habit goes back to the great days of the Industrial Revolution when the English read their newspapers for educational purposes at the same time as eating their lunches so as to be more efficient and help to put Britain at the top of the National Production League. This is still reflected in the fact that we eat more fish 'n' chips (there it is again!) than any other country -- and can even do it while driving around in our Mercedes Benz, Renault or Toyota motor cars, or watching old American films on television sets made in Japan.

It will be readily understood that this essentially and excruciatingly British culture must be defended at all costs against any sort of dilution from alien cultures. We are a Christian country, as can be easily shown by statistics which may very well show that at least 1.5 per cent of English people go to church at least once a lifetime and many even more.

We must fiercely defend our right to go to church once a lifetime and we don't want our churches turned into Holy Roller's orgies when they could, if no longer wanted actually as churches, easily become places for storing furniture from evicted squats. Nor do we want Arabs coming over here and building their bloody great mosques -- unless they are big, rich Arabs building their golden domes in Regent's Park, within easy walking distance of Marks & Spencers and Selfridges. They're all right. You can see they are cultured by their gold teeth.

So we are quite right, are we, to be afraid? There are only 50 million of us true blue white Britishers (not quite all English, of course, but never mind) and there are already one and a half million of them, some of them bringing over their old grandmothers to take over. We outnumber them by only fifty to one, and our culture is so fragile, our traditions so flabby, the British Way of Life so intangible and positively feeble, that clearly it will only take one good puff with a strong whiff of curry and away we go -- all that empire building for nothing!

Only one question worries me: whatever happened to the Jews? Years ago, the streets of Whitechapel were lined with posters in Yiddish advertising boxing matches, concerts, whatever -- and the British Union of Fascists were saying the Jews were taking over, destroying the British Way of Life, our 'culture'. Now, one never sees a Yiddish poster -- because the second and third generation of Jewish children never learned Yiddish but became anglicised. True, the Synagogues are probably more full than Protestant churches -- but the Synagogues are fewer and Reform and Liberal creeds have replaced the rigid Orthodox for many who pay lipservice to their parents' traditions just as 'Christian' children might.

And, oh tu', many 'mixed marriages' do take place too.

I have to simplify my argument for reasons of space, but the point to be made here is that the host country absorbed the immigrants and it is they who were influenced -- or rather their children were.

For the children of today's immigrants the process will be faster still, as all the influences of the media play their part as well as the natural wish of children to be conformist among their playmates. They also have one advantage over the European Jewish immigrants of yesteryear -- language. All West Indian and most Asian youngsters had some knowledge of English, however thick the accent, on arrival here, so the dependence upon parents 'from another culture' is not so tight. Already thousands of Asian girls are rejecting the 'arranged marriage' that their mothers accepted unthinkingly. They are being influenced by the more permissive British 'culture'.

Only one influence fights against this absorption: nationalism. From either direction, nationalism tends to maintain barriers. The state of Israel, its embattled struggle, has meant many a European Jew retaining a 'national identity' while being truly European without any intention of going to Israel. West Indians and Asians made to feel unwelcome in Britain will similarly turn to their 'roots' for a sense of identity -- thus keeping the barriers up. The more they are attacked by misguided 'British' the more they will insist on their 'Africanness' or their 'Asianness' and the more will the ghettos flourish.

The question of 'fear' was raised in the BBC television programme last week in which Robin Day bullied his way to destruction of a potentially interesting discussion by insisting on discussing repatriation. Happily, its only advocate, Enoch Powell, was left isolated, even by right-wing political colleagues and was completely demolished, towards the end, by a (black) alderman from Deptford who spoke movingly of his white wife and their children and showed the nonsense of talk of repatriation for people who belong here!

Robin Day's bullying chairmanship prevented the discussion of the much more important issue of fear, which all the main speakers said existed while saying it shouldn't.

Will somebody, somewhere, please tell us what there is to be afraid of? It is perfectly clear that our present economic troubles have absolutely nothing to do with the presence here of commonwealth immigrants and their British-born children; that the British way of life is not going to crumble under the influence of a tiny minority; that, in fact, none of the racist arguments hold water when examined.

Are we to be afraid of miners with black faces? Of East End kids eating fish 'n' chips out of newspaper with brown fingers? Is the great British people to be afraid of the pigmentation of some of our skins?

Writers in FREEDOM do not often quote American presidents with approval, but here's one from Roosevelt, at the outbreak of the American war with Japan, and then Germany: 'We have nothing to fear but fear itself!'

Can we do something about getting that across to the British people before they make utter fools of themselves?

PHILIP SANSOM.

THE OPIATE OF

A POLICE operation, vividly named 'Operation Julie', culminated in the sentencing of 16 people to a total of 120 years' imprisonment for the manufacture, handling and marketing of lysergic acid (LSD). The break-up and arrests of the organisation was carried out by eleven provincial police forces at an estimated cost of £500,000—of which a great deal has been made. Per-

erstwhile comrade had the conviction that cannabis should be legalised for religious purposes in the same way that Indians were allowed peyote for their cult. This led to a series of convictions for drug offences.

This obsession with the drug-culture has led to some confusion and weakening in the anarchist movement's fringe combined with an attitude that because

ates the habit.

Such is the misplaced and biased paternalism of the State that recently many of the humble chemist-shop patent medicines were placed on the prescription list—partly because some homely recipes for cough mixture (for example) were found to be popular with teenage pseudo-drug-addicts. All this despite the numerous drugs available on pre-

THE PEOPLE?

haps the cost could be broken up into payment of informers, purchase of LSD and employment (with overtime) of police who would probably have been employed anyway.

The industry of producing LSD covered millions of tablets and half the world. Undoubtedly it must have contributed to our balance of payments. But this was not a socially or legally approved business so therefore the ingenious industrious and often idealistic manufacturers have been sent down for long terms.

Not being in touch with circles where LSD is fashionable one does not know what the current price is—but doubtless it has risen in the last few weeks and no doubt, sustained by the law of supply and demand, just as ingenious, industrious and probably less idealistic manufacturers are now in production of LSD—probably a little more adulterated. The next police raids will doubtless seize a load of LSD from whose value, swollen by inflation, even more credit accrues to the police, their informers and agents provocateurs.

The trial reverberates echoes of battles long ago when the drug culture was more of a subject of controversy. David Solomons, one of the defendants, was a disciple of Timothy Leary; police found clues at Glastonbury in 1972 and at other pop festivals; even the main research department for the police is at Aldermaston of blessed memory.

Undoubtedly many of the members of the group which was behind the LSD business were only in it for the money. £750,000 in cash was located, not to mention the large sums which must have passed through the group. But there remains the idealism of those who believed that 'acid changed the course of life of everyone who ever took it' and worked on its production despite its illegality, convinced of its usefulness to society and the individual. Similar claims have been made for cannabis and one recalls a genuinely sincere comrade who financed anarchist propaganda by the marketing of cannabis. Later he moved on to LSD and eventually became so complex and esoteric in his LSD-induced views that one completely lost touch with him. Another

something is illegal it is worth doing and worth supporting. The martyrs of the drug-culture have been held up as victims of the state; indeed the turncoat Jerry Rubin stated in 1970 'Keep it [pot] illegal, and soon there will be a revolution.'

*

It is claimed that this drug-culture took its cues from Aldous Huxley's views in The Doors of Perception, but Julian Huxley has stated (in correspondence with Malcolm Muggeridge in 1972) that his brother did not think that LSD 'would bring liberation and understanding to everybody'. Huxley wrote earlier, in Brave New World, of the use of drugs (which he called 'soma') as a method of social control in his terrifyingly prophetic society: compare, for example, the modern widely used and prescribed barbiturates.

Huxley's books examining the results of mescaline concluded that it would result in an expansion of consciousness: claimed by defendants for LSD and attested to by, of all people, detectives who experimentally took LSD during the course of investigation.

It can be conceded that drug-taking is a minority cult and therefore need not be subject to legal sanctions, being a crime against the self or a victimless crime. Experts, as usual, disagree and it is contended that LSD, like cannabis, is harmless.

But the judge was not concerned with the harmlessness or not of LSD. He pointed out that alcohol (which an expert pointed out brought more people into hospital than LSD) was not a Schedule A drug and therefore not illegal. It would seem that proceedings for possession of LSD were commenced, in this country, even before the drug was scheduled. The whole drug scene has been glamourised by prosecutions and persecutions which give it an importance and an aura which it does not deserve. The overrated effects of soft drugs, particularly subject as they are to commercial adulteration and fraud leads, combined with the temptation of forbidden fruit, to searches for kicks in hard drugs so that prohibition itself acceler-

scription and freely given out by incompetent doctors like hundreds-and-thousands.

The next step is probably for aeroplane glue to be banned since some get a 'kick' from it.

*

The basic question is whether these drugs, hard and soft, mind-expanding and deadening, are the real opiates of the people. Certainly they are by no means popular: a minority taste. Whoever coined the expression—and there are doubts that it was Marx—religion is no longer the opiate of the people. Except in some countries religion is a minority cult, all over England churches are closing, becoming redundant. It has been said by unkind critics that sport is the opiate of the people, but there are innumerable candidates for the vacant post of supreme opiate, including television and the old State-supportive drugs of alcohol and tobacco, whose contribution to human misery and sickness far exceeds that of cannabis and LSD and whose contribution to State revenues far exceeds that of the other drugs.

The minor opiates of gambling, the cinema, thrillers and the radio still have their addicts. Tea, coffee and even cocoa have been denounced as drugs but basically one must conclude that everybody's hooked on something.

But do we need to escape? Do we need to expand our consciousness? Would it not be better to employ the consciousness we've got?

*

Recently on TV, one understands, there was a programme about flower power and what had happened to the flower people, from whose woozy philosophy had sprung the drug-cult. It was observed that several of the leading cult figures (with an honourable exception in Sid Rawle) had made their peace with the Establishment and had settled down to lives of comparative respectability. Some of this may be put down to the natural rebelliousness of youth followed by the natural conservatism of

HELL NO! WE

BRITAIN produced the first movement of popular resistance to the development of Nuclear Technology - the CND - with its opposition to the military applications of Atomic power. It is sad that this country now stands conspicuous amongst the Western nations for its failure to generate a popular movement against the further application of nuclear technology.

This failure has been attributed to a lingering (even if somewhat diminished) faith in the 1950s vision of unlimited cheap power fuelled by clean, efficient nuclear reactors. However, a far more likely explanation is that here we have a classic case of good old-fashioned "apathy". Apathy fuelled by a system of "D" notices and a process of more or less informal censorship of the mass media. Part of a conspiracy of silence enjoined by all major interested parties to the nuclear industry.

There has never been a full debate upon the nature and likely consequences of the nuclear industry in this country. The only form of scrutiny which it has undergone has been a highly superficial and unduly optimistic financial assessment whose predictions have utterly failed to materialise. The nuclear industry has swallowed up massive quantities of capital in research grants and subsidies. The United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority grant in 1976/77 was £114 million, and given the impending research and development costs of developing a working breeder reactor it is unlikely that this body will pay for itself in the foreseeable future. Furthermore, the first commercial fast breeder reactor in the UK is now expected to cost over £2 billion - which means that in its own right it could never make a profit. This "unexpected turn of events" has received no real consideration in any public forum - WHY?

READING ANARCHISTS are holding a workshop on non-violent techniques for Anarchists and Libertarians planning to participate in the FOE anti-Windscale demonstration. The workshop will be on Saturday 15th April at the Students Union, Whiteknights, Reading. We would like it to be attended by as many people from as many groups as possible so that the best possible co-ordination can be effected. We also strongly urge other groups to organise similar preparatory meetings.

Further details from: Ms. Shevek, c/o Clubs Office, Students Union, Whiteknights, Reading, Berks. Or phone (0734) 662285 evenings.

READING UNIVERSITY Anarchists are holding an open discussion meeting on the nuclear power question at lunch-time on Tuesday 25th April in the Students Union Building - Whiteknights. The speaker will be a visiting Australian Anarchist who has been involved in the uranium movement in that country.

FRIENDS of the Earth have organised a rally in Trafalgar Square for Saturday 29th April. It is important that a large Anarchist presence be achieved, and that this rally goes ahead - whatever attempts are made to cancel or postpone it, and whoever might make such an attempt.

Safety issues were never seriously considered at all in making the choice to proceed with nuclear development. It was simply assumed that as the programme went ahead everything possible would be done in this area; and in most cases we can take this as probably true (if we ignore such things as the attempt by Westinghouse to build a nuclear reactor straddling the San Andreas Fault Line at Bodega Bay just north of San Francisco). But the question that needs to be asked at this point is whether it is actually possible to provide adequate safeguards to make the nuclear industry safe. The evidence suggests a negative answer.

The problem of dealing with Nuclear Waste simply has not been faced up to. The release of low level wastes into the general environment has already produced significant incidents of disease and mortality and the question of high level wastes remains completely unanswered.

Also on the subject of safety, nuclear authorities in the UK and Australia have already admitted liability for the deaths of workers exposed to supposedly "acceptable" levels of radiation whilst on the job.

And what of "accidents"? In a situation as risky as those created by nuclear technology there can be no room for human error however unlikely or unforeseeable. Only 100 per cent certainty is acceptable and to ask for that is to ask the impossible - as the nuclear power industry has already demonstrated beyond a shadow of a doubt. (After all, who would have thought that a maintenance electrician in a working reactor would burn through the wiring circuits of all five emergency cooling systems with a candle he was using to see his way around - but it happened last year in the USA and the reactor had to be switched off. Fortunately nothing else happened before the core was brought off line, but a failure in the standard cooling mechanism or any sort of emergency and we could have kissed Idaho goodbye, as a human habitation, for the next few decades at least). Nor is there room for any other sort of malfunction; like the ones which led to seepage from a waste storage pond in the USA contaminating surrounding farms; or the untraceable leak of radioactive gasses from the existing Windscale plant; or the two separate occasions on which the sodium coolant system at the Dounreay experimental Fast Reactor has exploded in the past five years.

There has been no debate at all on these, or any other safety aspects of nuclear development - WHY?

Because the pursuit of a nuclear future is accepted as inevitable, so the ecological and social environments which this entails are accepted as equally inevitable. There has been no discussion of what they involve. And yet they each offer commanding reasons for abandoning the nuclear power industry.

Let's look first at the ecological scenario. Firstly, if the chances of a major reactor accident are one in a million per reactor per year - and this is the figure generally offered by the industry - then given the present rate of expansion we can expect a major catastrophe by the end of the century. The only doubt is which city we might lose: Wilmington? San Francisco? New York? Bristol? London?; depending on the nature of the accident and the wind direction it could be any one of these, or even more, a whole county, state or small country!

But even without an "accident", the "low level" radioactive waste emissions will slowly poison vast areas of the earth's surface. "Safe" absorption capacities are already exceeded in some localities and Plutonium and Strontium are incredibly toxic (Fatal doses are measured in small fractions of microgrammes). Besides all this, some organisms (such as shell fish) selectively absorb radioactive waste so that we may soon be saying a permanent farewell to major parts of our diet.

And from a social point of view, the prospects are even more frightening, because for every risk of accident there is a bigger risk of sabotage; whilst the proliferation of nuclear technology increases the risk of nuclear war. (Israel is rumoured to have nuclear weapons already, and Egypt, South Africa, Brazil, Argentina and Chile are all known to be acquiring weapons grade Plutonium. These are all militarist states in potential or actual war zones). Also, the theft of Weapons Grade fissile material by independent terrorists is a real possibility - Friends of the Earth in America have produced a blue-print for a home made nuclear weapon to demonstrate the potential danger and there are even rumours

WON'T GLOW ...

circulating in Australia that radical ecologists have exploded a tiny home made bomb to prove that it can be done.

And whilst these problems are serious enough, the measures with which the industry is bound to try to deal with them are even worse because they will be systematic and widespread:-

- 1) Travel restrictions, including quarantine and exclusion laws concerning areas with nuclear plant or waste dumps.
- 2) Total surveillance of actual and prospective employees in the industry.
- 3) The forbidding of union, or any political affiliations both at or outside of work will be absolutely inevitable for all workers in the nuclear industry.
- 4) The setting up of special para-military police forces - In the USA they are already planning a nuclear police force to guard materials and sites, with orders to shoot on sight any unauthorised personnel found in the area of nuclear materials, and with absolute powers of search, arrest and inquisition without needs for warrants or justification.

It is hard to see how any left or oppositional group can be tolerated in a nuclear society. Eventually a one party state and suppression of free speech are inevitable if the nuclear industry continues to mushroom. In fact, given the lack of credible discussion on these vital issues one is tempted to wonder if it hasn't already happened.

Leading on from this, we come to the question of alternative energy strategies, and again we are struck by the lack of any debate! The possibilities for clean, or "soft" energy sources are many and varied. First of all there is energy conservation through increased efficiency in energy use - this is receiving some superficial attention in this country; also conservation can be achieved by eliminating wasteful energy consumption altogether (e.g. the vast majority of private car journeys). This area hasn't even been considered. Secondly, modern windmill technology is extremely highly developed and eminently suited to electricity generation in a country such as Britain. Thirdly, solar power units have already achieved commercial viability in the USA and even in the British climate could provide almost all our low grade heat (up to 100°C) requirements - which currently accounts for over half of our energy use. Fourthly, a number of other promising technologies are now receiving attention - amongst them wave and tidal generators.

Most of these "soft" energy paths differ from nuclear power sources in the following crucial respects: they are proven technologies - known to be viable; they are non-pollutive and generally safe; and they are applicable to small scale social organisation and self managed life situations. And this, I think, is why the decision has been made to ignore them, in favour of the nuclear juggernaut with its necessarily concentrated, large scale, centralised and authoritarian social implications! The lack of debate arose because nuclear technology has to do with power in more than one sense.

The so-called defence industry in which the nuclear establishment has its origins has, of course, nothing to do with "defence", at least so far as you or I are concerned; but rather is the instrument for maintaining the power of those in power. Nuclear technology is inextricably bound up with this equally in its civilian and military applications.

In the field of external relations this is obvious; nuclear weapons are an effective threat for staving off aggressive neighbours or imperialist interests, whilst they can be used to extort various concessions or tributes from less well endowed states. But the internal applications are likely to be far more compulsive. Obviously the government is not going to bomb Notting Hill in the event of a Paris Commune style insurrection; but with a highly centralised power industry the power supply of any community which protests, refuses to

co-operate or threatens any signal of revolt can be shut down at the flick of a switch. Or, more likely, the power supply to remote areas will never be established, forcing the population into large concentrations where we are comparatively easy to manage. Energy starvation could be used to enforce other things as well as residential patterns - cutting off energy to those who won't pay rent (or can't afford to), or to those who won't work (or can't find work): the list is potentially endless and the power involved almost impossible to argue with - let alone fight. And there you have a sure fire recipe for slavery, sweat shops, super profits and the utter degradation of the vast masses of the people.

IT'S YOUR FUTURE (IF THEY DON'T GET TO IT FIRST)

To challenge the nuclear establishment is to challenge the most powerful sections of our society. If ever a ruling class could be defined, this fight will line them up against a single wall. Indeed in challenging the nuclear industry we challenge the very essence of our oppression - and that is why low level campaigns of the Friends of the Earth variety are simply not adequate in the present situation.

I have no desire to disparage FOE, at least they've done something, which is more than can be said for any other organisation in this country, but FOE activists tend to be, at worst reformist, but more often just politically naive. In the Reading area FOE literature and meetings have been incredibly wishy washy. Their attempts to appear "reasonable" and present both sides of the argument give the industry a credibility which it doesn't deserve and so they end up sounding almost like adverts for nuclear power (at least in its present stage of development) rather than critics.

But the blame for this lies on the more politically aware who have failed to involve themselves. FOE people are not as a rule corrupt or stupid, they are just naive. Their programme stands basically worthy of support as a minimum basis for action - but much more activity is needed to fill this out if the movement is going to achieve anything.

WE NEED A MASSIVE MOBILISATION and if it's not spear-headed by the Anarchist movement then it probably won't get done:-

- Street demonstrations (starting with the FOE organised anti-Windscale rally at Trafalgar Square on April 29th);
- Neighbourhood education campaigns; and
- A flood of literature giving useful, accurate and detailed case studies and statistics about the negative aspects of the nuclear industry should produced and circulated as widely as possible, along with badges, posters, stickers etc.

All this, and much much more needs to be done. This is literally a matter of life and death, of liberty or slavery. We cannot afford to fail. We are fortunate at least in that the building of the new Windscale reprocessing facility stands as a threshold or watershed in the growth of the nuclear industry, introducing new dangers and exacerbating old ones to a dramatic extent. We are fortunate also that FOE has brought this threshold situation into sharp focus via the Windscale enquiry. Now we must take it up as the issue around which we can mobilize - the fulcrum for our lever against the nuclear establishment.

Clearly, the time for "letters to the editor" has passed, if indeed it ever existed, and parliament has clearly indicated its contempt for the humble petitioners who have so far beseeched it of good sense in this matter. There is only one option left. We and all the people must mobilize to exercise the final veto of a popular refusal, and to begin the dismantling of this monster before it grows too large.

And remember, it is not sufficient to demand a pause in the further expansion of the nuclear industry, whilst we reflect

(Cont. on pg 7) →

LETTERS

MORRIS

Australia

Dear people at Freedom,

There is, at present, in Australia very little tradition in anarchism/libertarianism, and the people who, today, call themselves libertarians know very little, if anything, of their ideological ancestors.

It is to acquaint myself with this tradition and to make it available to others that I've started trying to write a history of anarchism in Australia. At present, I'm grappling with the turbulent period of the 1880-1890s. There was a Melbourne Anarchist Club from 1886 to 1890 and a number of anarchist tendencies in various 'labor' organisations established around this time. Some of the members of these groups (Jack Andrews, John Dwyer, probably) were in contact with French anarchist magazines (La Révolte, for example) and French anarchists (e.g. Jean Grave). One important result of this contact was that intercepted letters between the two groups were used by Australian politicians to justify the use of troops, arms and special constables with special powers against union leaders and others. The reform movement generally (for women's suffrage, etc.) who suffered repression.

What I need to know and would like help with is the nature and the extent of contact. Are there any records from the revolutionary/propagandist groups of that time showing Australian contacts? Are there any personal papers that could be researched to determine the legitimacy of the fears held (or claimed) by authorities that the bombings in France, etc., could occur in Australia unless countered? I would be very grateful for any assistance.

Yours faithfully,
Bob James

(10 Beltana Rd., Pialligo, ACT, Australia 2609.)

Greece

Dear Freedom,

I strongly object to the article published on March 4th about the Christos Cassimis affair in Greece.

As an anarchist I consider it absurd to participate in the mystification rituals that the leftist groups throughout the world use to glorify their supposedly revolutionary activity.

Cassimis was not an anarchist—he was simply another victim created by the war between two conflicting authoritarian ideologies. As a Marxist—and it does not matter to which variety he belonged—his proper place is in the dustbin of history.

As long as there are anarchists who sympathise with the 'struggle' of such organisations as the RAF, the Red Brigades, etc., as long as anarchism displays such a poverty of inspiration, then it deserves its place at the 'tail of the dog'.

If I am an anarchist, by definition I'm not

opposing authority with an alternative schema, but aim at complete demolition and therefore I don't give a shit about the fate of anyone who consciously represents it, whether Marxist or not—I'm against him.

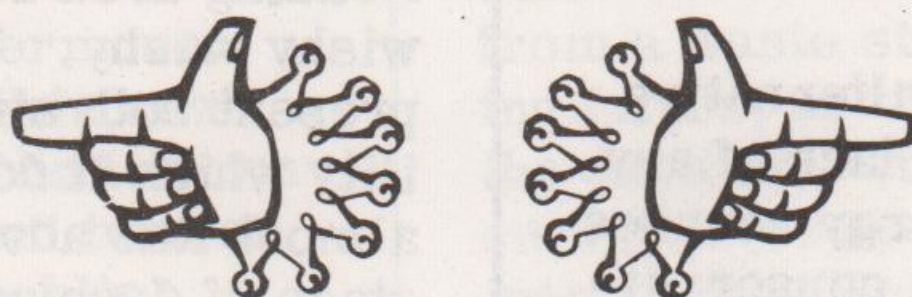
The fact that Cassimis was a member of the working class is not enough to justify his cause. His struggle was not against authority per se—it was a struggle for power, a reactionary struggle. Furthermore, I always thought that anarchism aimed at the elimination of the working class—not its sanctification.

Anarchism is not just another part of the ridiculous left-wing continuum. Anarchism is a completely different, self-inspired, uniquely rebellious force; it has nothing in common with Marxism. There are no affinities whatsoever which could justify the tremendous infatuation with the Baader-Meinhof group that has got a hold over anarchists—not only in Greece but practically everywhere—recently.

Let us not dirty ourselves any more with their abominable heroic dust. The only true, the only possible revolution is the one that aims at anarchy.

A. J. CANELLIDIS

(editor of Greek anarchist review 'Utopia')



Race

Referring to Anarchist Review Vol. 39 no. 2, when the author writes on the implications of the existence of 'social races' in the article 'The Race Against Race':

There could be racial recognition without stratification in terms of equality: as in saying that negroes are better athletes and rhythmically more in step than Caucasian whites who, in compensation are the intellectual-scientific champions of the world. Even if devoid of value judgments though, such a categorising would be erroneous just the same because once an investigator tries to unearth the reasons for these disparate qualities he inevitably discovers factors of environment, custom, bad anthropology and ethnology, the constant hard-to-refute findings in the sciences, and worse still, social and personal projections of stereotype images: in his own eyes maybe the dark colour he sees, that he so detests, in niggers. And therefore I heartily agree with 'Jan' that we need to concern ourselves less with racialism and racial differences that don't objectively exist and have more interest in the needs and aspirations of our whole, one human race.

What I want to say by this amendment to his article is that something, an idea or belief, that is wrong (i.e. not verifiable or better, is easily falsifiable) is wrong whether or not it is socially harmful and that we need no moralizings in order to shun falsity and lies.

Fraternally,
Stefano Schapiro

Boccheggiano, Italy.

ONE

Dear Comrades,

I've just read the latest FREEDOM (Mar. 4) and found some of it very interesting and useful. The front page article about increasing State power and the gradual helplessness people feel to confront it was a sensitive piece of writing at a time when bitterness, division and lack of solidarity are horrifyingly rampant across the land, and amongst anarchists in particular. This is the seeding ground for greater and greater State successes, for people become convinced that they are isolated and unable to resist.

As for the Ipswich radical feminists' pointing out that an article on lesbianism would have been better written by a lesbian—they are right. I hope they will contribute articles in the future on the things they feel strongly about. However, the article printed was a good one anyway. (In issue of Feb. 18)

Considering you come out fortnightly, the amount of crap in the paper is small. In ANARCHY magazine we have three months to get and write good articles but people still say half of it is rubbish!

Good Luck,
DAVE MORRIS.

P.S. We at ANARCHY welcome articles on the burning questions of the day.

TWO

We have received the following information on a seminar called 'The Factory As It Might Be' which is to be held at Plaw Hatch Hall, Sharpthorne, nr East Grinstead, Sussex RH19 4JL (tel: 0342-810373) on 15/16 April. The course fee of £ 30 includes accommodation, meals, etc).

This seminar is aimed at exploring the factory environment where millions of trade unionists work and live much of the day. While conditions in housing have improved, and standards set — the 'factory as such' has hardly been studied having been left with the pioneers of co-operation and trade unionism such as Robert Owen (with his New Lanark) and William Morris, the radical thinker who wrote 'The Factory As It Might Be' — the title of which we have used for our seminar. Automation is now with us, and the industrial fabric we have inherited is in need of dramatic change. What might this change look like? To answer the question we have brought together an enlightened factory owner along with trade union experts in the field, public safety officers, designers of our environment and advanced technologists to discuss the implications of these new developments. This seminar is designed mainly for trade union officials.

For further information please contact:
Mrs Letchford, 527-2272 Extn. 247
North East London Polytechnic
Faculty of Environmental Studies
Forest Road, Walthamstow, London E17 4JB

NUCLEAR ENERGY

upon its future. It is not even sufficient to cry out "Halt - No More!" The message which must be hammered home to the power industry is clear and urgent:-

"GO BACK - YOU HAVE GONE THE WRONG WAY."

ALAN WESTFALL

Recommended Further Reading:

Good sourcebooks on the nuclear power industry are not readily available in this country. The best thing I have seen is a pamphlet called "Red Light for Yellow Cake" published by FOE in Australia, but this has not been printed in the UK. Copies can be ordered from the JURA Bookshop, 417 King St., NSW, Australia 2042, price \$1.00 (= 60 pence) by Sea Mail or £ 1.25 sterling by Air. Reading University Anarchists hope to have imported copies available at around 50 pence by mid June.

Also good, but with less statistical material in them, are:

Amory B. Lovins: "Soft Energy Paths" - Penguin Books.
Walter C. Patterson: "Nuclear Power" - Penguin Books.
Hugh Montefiore & David Gosling: "Nuclear Crisis" - Prism Press.
Michael Flood & Robin Grove-White: "Nuclear Prospects" - FOE, London, £ 1.00.

Also there is an informative introduction in "The Leveller" No. 12, February 1978, pp 22-29. Unfortunately it is poorly documented and lacking in useful case-studies or statistical info.

That just leaves the government publications:

- Royal Commission on Environmental Pollution, 1976.
- The First Ranger Enquiry report to the Australian Govt., 1976.
- The Second-Ranger Enquiry report to the Australian Govt., 1977.
- The Windscale Enquiry under Justice Parker 1978, which is also available in edited form.

BLASPHEMY IN SICILY

TWO well-known Sicilian anarchists are to be tried for blasphemy in Catania on Friday 17th March. The defendants are Franco Leggio and Alfredo Bonanno, leading publishers of anarchist literature in Sicily, who have already been suffering repeated harassment for the large number of publications they have produced during the past few years.

The offending item is not any kind of political material, but Johann Most's essay The God Plague and Religion Epidemic*, which was first published in New York in German in 1883. He was imprisoned several times in several countries for several crimes, but never on account of this essay. It was soon established as a standard text of anti-Christian propaganda in the anarchist repertory, and it has been published in many languages all over the world, but no one seems to have got into trouble for it before now. It has appeared several times in English, the last time being in The Match! in 1972, and although it is a vigorous polemic it is hardly the kind of thing that would be prosecuted in Britain, even by Mary Whitehouse.

It was recently included in an enormous and expensive Italian collection of anarchist classics, edited by Carlo Mario Bravo and published by UTET. The authorities took no notice of this book, which is not surprising when one considers that its price is about £12, but they changed their attitude when Leggio reprinted Most's essay (together with Sébastien Faure's similar essay on God) as a cheap pamphlet in Ragusa. On January 13 the Sicilian political police made an armed raid on Bonanno's home in Catania, fifty miles from Ragusa. Both Leggio and Bonanno were subsequently charged under Article 402 of the Italian criminal code, which punishes "vilification of the Catholic religion, the deity, and the priesthood" with between one and three years in prison. We shall give further details of the case when we hear any more news from our comrades.

M. H.

*We hope to reprint this essay in a future review section.

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DRUGS

(cont from pg 5)

age, but some of it can be ascribed to the falsity of the philosophy itself and the ease with which it was shaken off.

The flower people gave way to the cult of violence. The Manson gang were the heirs of the Californian flower people. The power of the flower turned into the power which came from the barrel of a gun.

The violence of the urban guerillas and the cultivated ugliness of the punk-rockers were as much an escape from the values of polite society as the other-worldly ethos of flower-power. Violence and ugliness are just as much an opiate. Humanity can no more live in mud and blood than it can in the clouds.

The lessons to be drawn from the LSD trial are those of the law's lack of concern for human welfare or consciousness. It could be that the State is aware that the availability of certain drugs would make the citizen less malleable to the State's designs—for example, a less assiduous worker. At the same time the State is prepared, for the sake of its own revenue, to condone certain more harmful types of drug. Indeed, through its own medical system it releases vast quantities of habit-forming drugs throughout the

country, exceeding in quantity the products of the LSD factory.

In The Doors of Perception Aldous Huxley wrote: 'Ours is the age, among other things, of the automobile and of rocketing population. Alcohol is incompatible with safety on the roads, and its production, like that of tobacco, condemns to virtual sterility many acres of the most fertile soil. The problems raised by alcohol and tobacco cannot, it goes without saying, be solved by prohibition. The universal and ever-present urge to self-transcendence is not to be abolished by slamming the currently popular Doors in the Wall. The only reasonable policy is to open other, better doors in the hope of inducing men and women to exchange their old bad habits for new and less harmful ones. Some of these other, better doors will be social and technological in nature, others religious or psychological, others dietetic, educational, athletic. But the need for frequent chemical vacations from intolerable selfhood and repulsive surroundings will undoubtedly remain.'

Myself, I have no need for such a hypothesis.

JACK ROBINSON.

FREEDOMS CONTACTS PAGE

WE WELCOME NEWS, REVIEWS, LETTERS ARTICLES. Latest date for no. 6 (N.B. eve to occur April 3-18 & following is Monday 27 March (and if possible Thursday 23 March).

NEXT DESPATCHING DATE is THURSDAY 30 MARCH. Come and help from 2 pm onwards. (Issue no. 6)

Folding session for Supplement no. 7 is Thursday March 23rd, 6-8 p.m.

Groups

ABERYSTWYTH. Mike Sheehan, Newadd Caerlaan, Victoria, Terrace, Aberystwyth.

BELFAST. B.A.C. c/o 52 Broadway, Belfast 12 (correspondence only).

BRISTOL. Anyone interested in forming group contact Bob, Fiat 4, 14 Westfield Park, Redland, Bristol.

BOLTON. Contact 6 Stockley Avenue, Harwood, Bolton (tel. 387516).

CAMBRIDGE. Raphael Salkie, Queens' College, Cambridge

CORBRY. Terry Phillips, 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby, Northants.

COVENTRY. write John England, 48 Spencer Avenue, Earlsdon, Coventry, Warwicks.

DERBY. Anyone interested in forming group contact Andrew Huckerby, 49 Westleigh Ave. Derby, DE3 3BY (tel. 368678).

EAST ANGLIAN Libertarians, Martyn Everett, 11 Gibson Gardens, Saffron Walden, Essex.

EXETER Anarchist Society, Univ. of Exeter. Devonshire House, Stocker Road, Exeter.

LEAMINGTON & Warwick, c/o 42 Bath St. Leamington Spa.

LEEDS. Tony Kearney, 5 Toronto Place, Chapel Allerton, Leeds LS7 4LJ (tel. 624096).

LEICESTER c/o Blackthorn Books, 74 Highcross Street, Leicester.

NEWCASTLE, Black Jake, c/o Tyneside Socialist Centre, 235 Jesmond Road, Jesmond, Newcastle-upon-Tyne NE2.

NOTTINGHAM, c/o Mushroom, 10 Heathcote St. (tel. 582506) for activities, or 15 Scotholme Ave., Hyson Green (tel. 708302).

OXFORD. Steve Bushell, Balliol College, Oxford.

PORTSMOUTH. Carolyne Cahm, 2 Chadderton Gardens, Pembroke Park, Old Portsmouth.

READING. University Anarchists c/o Students Union, Univ. of Reading, Whiteknights, Reading.

SHEFFIELD Anarchist group: Box 1A, 341 Glossop rd., Sheffield 10 (tel. 667029). Group mtgs. Tuesdays 7.30 for 8pm at 10 Hanover Square, Sheffield 10; discussion mtgs Sunday evngs, fortnightly. Also Student Group (Box 1SG); Black Cross secretariat (Box 1BC); Syndicate of Initiatives (Box 1SB) all at 341 Glossop Rd. (tel. as above).

SWANSEA Dan William 24 Derlwyn, Dunvant, Swansea.

THAMES VALLEY. Adele Dawson, Maymeade, 6 Congress Rd. Maidenhead. (tel. 062 2974).

WESTON-super-Mare, Martyn Redman, Flat 5, 23 Milton Road, Weston-s-Mare, Somerset.

LONDON FEDERATION

Anarchist Black Cross, 123 Upper Tollington Park, N.4 (tel. 691 6533)

Anarchy Collective, 29 Grosvenor Ave., N.5. (tel. 359 4794 before 7 pm).

Clapham. 3 Belmont Rd. SW4 (tel. 622 8961). Dorking Libertarian Group, Howard Fuller, 6 Oak Ridge, Goodway, Dorking, Surrey (tel. 87814).

East London Libertarians, 123 Lathom Road, E.6 (tel. 552 3985).

Freedom. 84B Whitechapel High St (Angel Alley) E.1. (tel. 247 9249).

Hackney Anarchists, contact Dave 249 7042.

Kington Anarchists, 13 Denmark Road, Kingston-upon-Thames. (tel. 549 2564).

London Workers Group, Box W, 182 Upper St. N.1. (tel. 249 7042).

Love V Power (write only) Desmond Hunter, 4 Swindon Street, WC1.

S.E. London College, c/o Nick Higman, Students Union, S.L. Coll., Knights Hill, West Norwood, (tel. 670 3774).

Anarchist Communist Association (ACA), c/o 182 Upper Street, N.1.

KENT ANARCHIST FEDERATION:

Ramsgate: Peter Ford, 22 Royal Road, Sevenoaks, Jim Endesby, 70 Bradbourne Rd.

MIDLANDS ANARCHIST FEDERATION, Sec. Stephen Henstridge, 1 The Close, Chilwell, Beeston, Nottingham.

NORTH-WEST ANARCHIST FEDERATION, 6 Stockley Ave., Harwood, Bolton, Lancs. (tel. Bolton 387516). Mthly mtg., newsletter.

SCOTTISH LIBERTARIAN FEDERATION: Aberdeen: c/o A.F.F. 167 King Street. Glasgow, C. Baird, 122 Bennerary St., Glasgow G.22 (tel. 336-7895), also for Port Glasgow and Stirling.

ANARCHIST STUDENTS NETWORK, Secretariat: Reading University Anarchists, c/o Students Union, University of Reading, Whiteknights, Reading, Berks.

Meetings

NEW YORK, Libertarian Book Club Lectures, Thursday, 7.30 pm at Workmen's Circle Center, 365 8th Ave., 29th St. N.Y.C.

April 13: Dwight Macdonald: "Confessions of a Literary Journalist."

May 11: Bayard Rustin, topic to be announced.

SUNDERLAND: Sat. & Sun. 1 and 2 APRIL Anarcho-syndicalist/Direct Action Movement Conference at Carlton House, Sunderland Poly, Wearmouth Hall, Chester Road. Sleeping accommodation will be available, but if you have sleeping bags bring them along.

LEICESTER, Friday 28 April, Anarchist Gay Liberation conference, (Friday 28 to Mon. 1 May). Please contact Box 'G', 74 Highcross Street, Leicester, with suggestions for discussion and to give some idea of how many people are coming.

LONDON. Mon. 20 March. London Workers. Discussion mtg. 8 pm at Rising Free, 182 Upper St. N.1.

LONDON. Wed. April 19. 'Left Without Marx'. Libertarian theory group making a study of Marx's writings. 7.30 pm at 9 Poland Street (basement), London W.1. and thereafter regular discussions third Wed. each mth. For details contact 15 Matcham Rd. E.11. (tel. 01-555 5248).

LONDON Thurs. 23 March. Anarchy Maga-

zine mtg. 8P m at 29 Grosvenor Ave., N.5. & thereafter weekly on Thursdays. All welcome.

READING. Sat. 15 April. Workshop on non-violent techniques for anarchists and libertarians planning to participate in the F.O.E. anti-Windscale demonstration. Attendance of as many people from as many groups as possible desired. Further details from Ms. Sherek, c/o Clubs Office, Students Union, Whiteknights, Reading, Berks. or phone (0734) 662285, evenings.

Tuesday 25 April, lunch-time in the S.U. building, Open discussion on nuclear power question.

LONDON Saturday 29 April. Friends of the Earth rally in Trafalgar Square (postponed from 19 March). See also news pages.

Desires

INTERROGATIONS. The present editing group has no copy of no. 1 or no. 2, and they have many requests for them. Please send any spare copies to Interrogations, via G. Reni 96/6, Torino 10136, Italy.

Literature

LIBERTARIAN EDUCATION no. 24, Spring 1978. R.F. MacKenzie on the future of education; Michael Duane describes an experiment in community-involved education; Free Schools guide, book reviews &c. 30p from 6 Beaconsfield Rd, Leicester (or Freedom Bookshop, postage 9 p)

"GOOD GOD! — a string of verses to tie up the deity"; a gift book by Barbara Smoker, illustrated by Joyce Harpur, 95p (or £ 1 post free) from B. Smoker, 6 Stanstead Grove, London SE6.

Press Fund

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HOLIDAY CLOSING

PLEASE NOTE THAT THE BOOKSHOP WILL BE CLOSED ON FRIDAY 24th APRIL and SATURDAY THE 25TH. (AS WELL AS OUR NORMAL SUNDAY & MONDAY CLOSURE)

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THE BAD BOHEMIAN

THE BAD BOHEMIAN, A Life of Jaroslav Hašek. Cecil Parrott, The Bodley Head, £10.

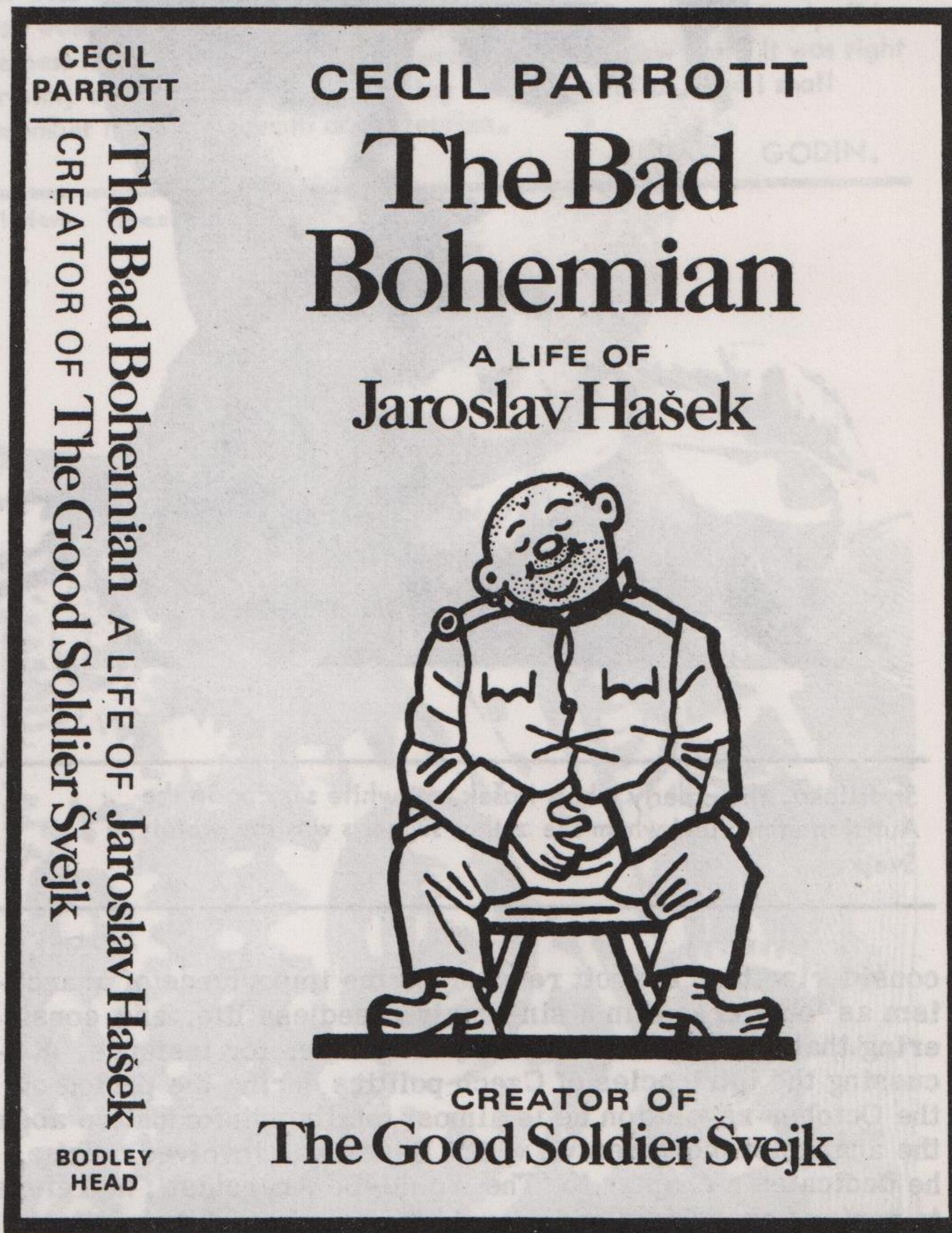
BEING ignorant of Czechoslovak history - and in particular, where FREEDOM is concerned, of the Czech anarchist movement, I should make it plain at once that I am by no means qualified to review the above. I can approach it only as an ordinary reader and anarchist for whom Hašek's creation ranks among the great literary works - and political manifestoes-of the world; I can hope only to expand a little on J.H.'s warm salutation of 18 February (in his Bookshop Notes), feeling that an appreciation of Hašek could be placed nowhere more comfortably than next to one of Chaplin.

(Sir) Cecil Parrott is already known to us as the translator of the new and unabridged English version of *The Good Soldier Švejk and his Fortunes in the World War*, which first appeared in Penguin, with Josef Lada's original translations, in 1974. As British ambassador to Czechoslovakia between 1960-66 he was well situated to pursue his studies of Hašek's life, and was later permitted to examine a great deal of material about him in the Literary Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences (from which he was also able to obtain the photographs that illustrate the book). He is nevertheless aware of the problems involved in putting together a realistic portrait of someone who has been made a 'hero of Communism' - whose *Švejk* is approved reading for the rank and file of the Czechoslovak army (!) - and on whom all source material 'is firmly in the hands of the Czechoslovak and Soviet authorities.' In addition, little autobiographical information exists that is not colourfully fictionalised in the *Švejk* and other stories, and little biographical information that has not in one way or another become myth.

Given this problem it might have been at least as rewarding, and certainly as valuable, to write a study of the Hašek/Švejk legend rather than an inevitably conjectural and in some places sketchy history. Nevertheless the author has provided a great service with this first full-scale biography of the man to be written outside Czechoslovakia.

Jaroslav Hašek was born in 1883 in Prague, Bohemia, under the Austro-Hungarian empire, and died in Lipnice in 1923 - no doubt (he was an incurable alcoholic) of cirrhosis of the liver. Hašek was no armchair satirist; he must still hold the world record for putting his own stories into practice. He became the notorious clown of Prague, his surname even rhyming with the Czech word for 'clown' - *sašek*. His hoaxes became legendary well within his own lifetime, as did his unreliability and disloyalty to everyone and everything but the pathological need to subvert authority. In his youth he became an editor of anarchist journals while contributing to a multitude of other, politically very different ones, playing them off against one another. Under his editorship the family magazine *Animal World* began to run sensational stories about wild Scottish collies terrorising Patagonia, musk rats invading the river Vlada, and the 'newly discovered fossil of an antediluvian flea' - an academic scoop that achieved international fame. Also at around this time he stood as candidate for the Party for Moderate Progress Within the Bounds of the Law - of which more later. After the break up of his marr-

riage and the break out of the first world war, he was drafted into the Austrian army, while the aftermath of the October revolution found him a Red Army commissar of surprising sobriety. On his uneasy return to Prague in 1920 he was cold-shouldered by the Czechoslovak intelligentsia and hounded by the police. He moved into the countryside when already dying, and here in Lipnice, heavily fortified with rum and tobacco, began work on *The Good Soldier Švejk*. At the time of his death he was planning, among other things, to spend a while in Barcelona with a former anarchist comrade, and write a 'serious' drama set in Spain.



From an anarchist point of view the main criticism of Parrott's book must lie in the inadequacy of his study of Hašek's anarchism. Certainly Parrott doesn't try to conceal it. In his earlier introduction to *The Good Soldier*, so ably translated by him, he consistently refers to the author's anarchism. In the biography too he concludes that, despite his subsequent flirtations with social democracy, tsarist monarchism, bolshevism, or his more deeply ingrained Czech nationalism, 'The only creed which he (Hašek) could truly stomach was anarchism, because it had no doctrinal discipline ...'

(cont pg)

HAŠEK



Strašlipka, the orderly whom Hašek met while serving in the Austrian army, and whom the author suggests was the prototype Švejk.

But, considering that Parrott recognises the importance of anarchism as 'only creed' in a singularly creedless life, and considering that he spends a relatively long time, for instance, discussing the intricacies of Czech politics during the period of the October revolution he is almost totally uninformative about the anarchist movement in which Hašek was involved. True, he dedicates a chapter to 'The Would-Be Anarchist'; he refers to various anarchists and anarchist journals and their attack on the reformist policies of the social democrats, as well as to the strong anarchist tradition in the north Bohemian brown-coalfields and north-eastern textile mills, which had 'fallen for a time under the very strong influence of the German proponent of "individual Anarchism", Johann Most ...' But this last quotation in itself displays a knowledge of anarchist theory and philosophy on the part of the former British ambassador that is not exactly enlightening. Thus, the anarchist movement in Bohemia drops the tactic of political assassination for economic and industrial struggle while preserving the concept of 'individual Anarchism' in the sense that it was opposed to most forms of organisation or collective action, such as

contact with Anarchist movements abroad' (!) Thus too, if anarchism did not alarm the younger generation of Czechs this seems to Parrott to be less on account of a recognition of its real merits and values than 'because it was for a time the only substitute for a radical Left, since there was then no Communist Party ..' etc. One of his rare references to anarchist philosophy is summed up in the reply of a French anarchist (Henry?) to his judge when he says 'There can be no innocent bourgeois'. And Hašek embraces anarchism because he can sympathise with the view that 'The bourgeoisie was a class which it was right and necessary to shock - perhaps even to blow up!' Apart from these unsatisfactory and sometimes absurd references, Parrott never really explains what he means when writing in the last chapter, 'the more (Hašek) suspected latent doctrine or hypocrisy in (anarchism) the more he felt alienated from it.' This may well have been true. But examples of such latent doctrine or hypocrisy are unfortunately not supplied.

Evident weaknesses like this in Parrott's book apply elsewhere too, but owe more perhaps to a genuine unavailability of information. Most mystifying is the transformation that seems to come over Hašek in Soviet Russia, after being taken prisoner on the Galician front. Between then and his return to Prague in 1920, Hašek the old anarchist and incomparable editor of *Animal World*, veers from support for Czech independence under Romanov rule to support of bolshevism, and takes up the role of secretary of the Party cell of the staff of the Fifth (Red) Army. During this time, and only then, does he appear to stop drinking. He abandons his satirical writing for socialist realism, and even organises a secret counter-espionage section against counter-revolutionaries. ('He adopted', says Parrott, 'the methods of the Cheka and became an employer of Bretschneider's' - the plain-clothes police spy and agent provocateur in *Švejk*.) In other words he himself becomes the target of everything *Švejk* sets out to demolish. Even his physical appearance seems to undergo a complete transformation. But can this only be explained as another, if particularly striking, example of Hašek's utter inconsistency? Or as simply one of those times in his life when he is trying to throw off the buffoon inside him and believe in something? [Even then he is no orthodox bolshevik official. 'He was neither a theoretical Marxist nor a Communist', writes a German colleague of the time, 'but a real revolutionary. He had a clear idea of who would benefit by the revolution. He was prevented from becoming a Marxist by a certain excitability which was at that time the cause of his spontaneous joie de vivre ...']

Cecil Parrott would for his part dispute any real revolutionary commitment in Hašek, seeing him rather as the incurable subversive and joker, the 'bad bohemian' of the title, without throwing much light on such strange episodes. Perhaps he comes closest to an explanation with a quote from the Czech novelist Eduard Bass, who had known Hašek in the Prague of his youth: 'In Hašek there were always two persons: one played the fool and the other looked on. The other Hašek, whom very few managed to look in the eyes, saw with frightening certainty the futility of human existence and, having apprehended it, tried to deny it, muzzle it, escape from it, or beguile it with jokes, which were generated by the first Hašek. His magnificent comedy was, in fact, tragedy.'

Yet, I don't know, I'm not sure this existential analysis should be taken too seriously either ...

Such reservations apart, this is an entertaining and interesting book, and well worth reading for the accounts of Hašek's innumerable pranks, both real and imaginary, and not always uninformative for us anarchists. When planning a major anti-election campaign, for instance, we might in future do well to remember Hašek's greatest hoax - his running as candidate for the Party for Moderate Progress Within the Bounds of the Law. First planned with anarchist friends as a satire on the whole parliamentary system the Party's aims included, apart from the Moderate Progress of the title, greater strictness with the poor, nationalisation of house porters and sextons and the placing of credit banks in the hands of the clergy ... What propaganda value might we not also achieve, comrades, by setting up such a monstrous party, and by subsequently writing its political and social History for the Sunday papers?

G. F.

BASQUE 'LIBERTARIANISM'

"... We want for all individuals of both sexes a complete education in science, industry and the Arts so that intellectual inequalities, almost entirely imaginary, will disappear, and that the distinctive effects of the division of labour should not recur..."

These aspirations were written into the Manifesto issued by the Federal Council of the Spanish Section of the First International in 1872. Yet even earlier, in June 1870 ("at that time Marx's book *Das Kapital* was still unknown as was the Communist Manifesto...") the first congress of the Spanish section had adopted among the resolutions one stipulating that "alongside consumer co-operatism and complementary to it... co-operatives for mutual aid and public instruction." Concern for education and literacy has a long and energetic history in the anarchist movement of Spain, historically the European country with the lowest literacy rate. It is not the kind of news we have been receiving from and about our Spanish comrades in recent years. But the *Guardian* on 14 February carried a feature by John Hooper about a people's university "born out of despair" in Bilbao. He says of the "university":

"It's a long way from the discreet bequest of a former student. This is a university without grants or subventions, without professors or a campus.

"Rekaldeberri is on the edge of Bilbao, one of the most deprived parts of one of Europe's most depressing cities. Violent crime is rife and the absence of facilities, the pollution and the near-constant foul weather contribute to exceptionally high rates of psychological disorder and bronchial illness..."

Rekaldeberri is the other, less creditable and less-publicised side of the Basque country's middle-class nationalism. Most of the district's 70,000 inhabitants are 'immigrants' - Andalucians, Estremadurans and Castilians in the main - who supply unskilled labour in the factories and warehouses which line the River Nervion. They and, in many cases, the parents and grandparents, have been used by the middle-class businessmen who founded and support the Basque Nationalist Party to build the Basque country into one of Spain's richest areas.

The first attempts by the residents to improve their lot were in the Sixties, when some of them launched a campaign for better educational facilities. Not one school had been built there in the previous 30 years. Eventually the people of Rekaldeberri found it quicker and easier to start their own.

Out of the schools movement emerged a library which, with 10,000 to 12,000 books and 3,000 members is today the largest lending library in Bilbao. Out of the library campaign emerged the university, now in the middle of its second year."

The classes are held in a school (two nights per week only). The initiator is a 33 year old lawyer. Most of the students up to now have been skilled workers and students at Bilbao's conventional university, but John Hooper says the balance is shifting because of the growing unemployment in Spain and that more and more manual workers are coming to the classes. The courses sound rather like WEA courses, including besides arts and culture, history of the Basque country and of the workers' movement, but also labour law, economics, the constitution, public health and town planning. Psychology is said to be the most popular.

The Basque country was never a stronghold of anarchism as was, and is, Catalonia. But it would be good to hear that anarchists were involved in down to earth practices of idealism as were the creators of the Spanish anarchist collectives. It would be interesting to know what are the philosophy and aspirations of the people who have created Bilbao's people's university. John Hooper comments that before the civil war Rekaldeberri was known as "Lenin's nook". But the impression he gained from his session at the university, whilst he records the very modest educational standards in conventional terms of the courses indicates a free thinking spirit of enquiry that surely must be libertarian:

"But the people's university does seem to have fostered two attitudes which are - or should be - aims of any higher educational institution.

First, there is a genuine spirit of criticism. The classes begin as lectures and evolve or lapse - the choice of words depends on how you view this sort of experiment - into discussions.

Second, the classes appear to have given the students as impressive ability to get down to essentials; to regard facts as means of supporting or dismantling a theory rather than as an end in themselves."

MC

* V. Richards, introduction to *Collectives in the Spanish Revolution*, by Gaston Leval. (Freedom Press, 1975).

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CHARLIE CHAPLIN

PERHAPS because he died on Christmas Day, the British media seem to have composed obituary notices for Charlie Chaplin which, by and large, were predictable and cliché-ridden, reflecting not Chaplin's immense contribution to the sum total of human happiness over his long life, so much as how the present day media scribes assessed him with contemporary values and mores. We all forget that present day technology is so imperfect that silent films are seldom, if ever, projected at the correct speed, and so perpetuate the myth that such films were comic and had them rolling in the aisles simply because, on today's sound projectors, they are speeded up and pixilated. Although the basic biographic facts in the obituaries were fairly accurate, the perspective and retrospective evaluation was strictly cynical 70s. In my own view (and I include Comrade Melly's disappointing piece in *The Observer*) they all underestimated the immense complexity of Chaplin both as a man and artist, who tried, for most of his life, to convey great simple truths in such a way that audiences everywhere would be able to understand them. An ambitious undertaking, but one in which he was successful to a remarkable degree.

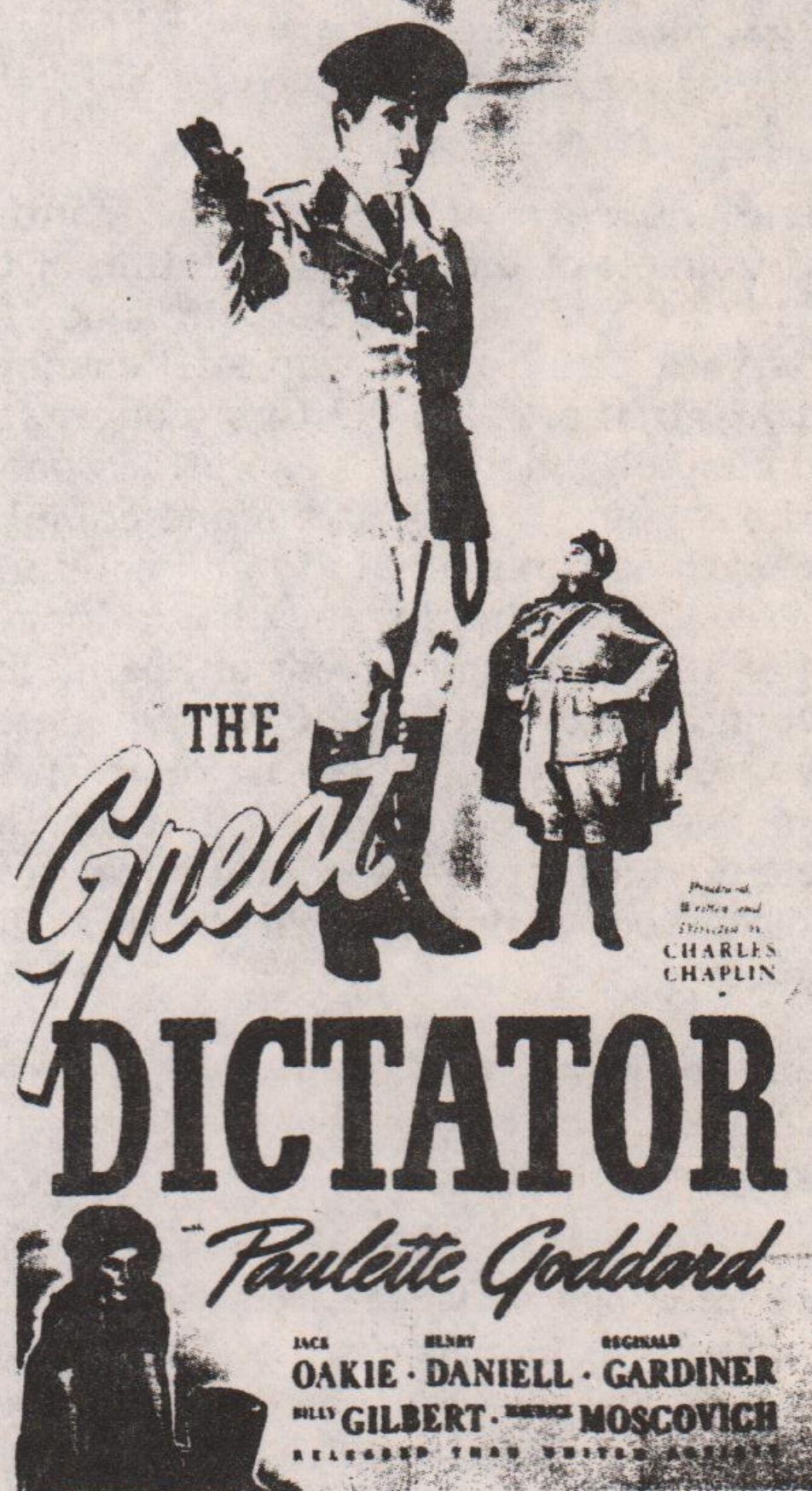
In their innermost heart of hearts, most people know that the present system under which we live is not the best of all possible worlds, just as the dictatorship of the East similarly operates against the best interests of humankind, but, having intuitively reached this conclusion, these same people regard the alternatives as desperately helpless, if not downright frightening. Just as it is impossible for any of us to be anarchists without some degree of compromise, so Chaplin found himself caught in the meshes of a system which had been so cruel to him as a child, and which he could never, ever forgive entirely. It had driven his mother to an asylum when her mind became unhinged through unremitting poverty and anxiety, and had placed him in a Lambeth workhouse before he was even a teenager. Chaplin was therefore forced at a very early age to learn how to survive, and without benefit of proper education or the loving security of a family nest, he had to develop those natural talents which could be made to earn him a living.



1937 *Modern Times* was Chaplin's polemic against mindless capitalism. Except for a nonsense song he spoke no words in the film, and it was probably the last true full-length silent picture

Of those obituaries that I've read, the common thread that runs through them all, is fulsome praise tempered with grave reservations about his 'sentimentality.' This of course is entirely in keeping with the diseased emotional climate that has surfaced over the last 25 years or so as people

Charlie Chaplin



1940 Although Europe was at war, by the time *The Great Dictator* was released, Chaplin's satirical onslaught on Hitler and Mussolini succeeded not only in ridiculing them but in harnessing world attention at a time when Hollywood played safe.

have subconsciously conspired together to pretend that they are immune to sentiment simply as a defence mechanism against their own fears and dreads. They pretend that they can 'take it' when they parade their mental toughness via the media, but of course they never really have to actually 'take it' since their 'strength' is invariably bought at the expense of others less well placed than themselves, and who 'take it' on behalf of all of us. Being a person who can be acutely affected by sentiment in art, I refuse to be manoeuvred into a sense of shame by these emotional bully-boys and believe, as they would have it, that there is something 'wrong' with me simply because the closing scene of *City Lights* can still move me to actual tears.

It is precisely when people fail to be moved by what they term 'sloppy sentiment' that they develop brutal and harsh attitudes which exterminate compassion, sympathy and understanding. It is simply a means of rationalising their wanting to be cruel and sadistic, but, like most cowards, only in those ways which society sanctions and permits. From there of course, it is but a few paces to actual fascism. Mainly because of this, it was the masses who made Chaplin the hugely popular and genuinely loved person he was, because the world's proletariat didn't need to intellectualise a phenomenon that gave them so much pleasure and entertainment. It was only after Chaplin's acceptance on such an overwhelming scale that the world's media and its scribes decided to analyse and thus acknowledge him. (Several years later, exactly the same process was to repeat itself with rock and roll music, and again it is not without significance that the modest talents of Elvis Presley should have been the subject of more column inches of tribute from the media than was afforded Chaplin).

But, although Chaplin might always have wanted to remain 'a man of the people', he found himself in that horrendous dilemma which few of us ever have to face, of marketing what turned out to be a highly lucrative talent in a society which, despite his awareness that it was rotten to the core, nevertheless rewarded him with an excess of wealth. It is too easy for those who have never been in a similar situation to speculate what is the best course to take in such circumstances, and in any case,

although the profits from making feature films in those days could be great, the sums involved were so huge that the next year could bring equally huge losses. How many film historians or commentators now bother to even mention the fact that Luis Bunuel's *Land Without Bread* was entirely financed through an anarchist comrade's lucky win on the State lottery, or in the reverse direction, that *L'Age d'Or* and Jean Cocteau's *Le Sang d'Un Poete* were only made because of the private financial patronage of the Vicomte de Noailles? I am not in any way apologising for these strange quirks in the capitalist system, but merely pointing them out as evidence of how life is.

Chaplin's daughter Geraldine (herself an actress, and sufficiently individualist to reject the institution of marriage), was interviewed by the *Sunday Times* about two weeks before her father's death. "I think", she was quoted as saying, "Daddy is really a complete anarchist in the most positive sense". It is not the first time that I've heard that term seriously used to describe Chaplin's personal philosophy, and nor was evidence for this lacking in his films. Although the anti-sentimentalist crypto-fascists of the media deplored it, was there one word in Chaplin's closing speech of *The Great Dictator* which did not reflect how every anarchist thinks and feels? Great truths ARE simple, and it's the system and its minions which have ways of complicating them as we are divided and conquered through differentials of income, class, education and opportunity. There were other important points that the media failed to take note of too. Although on the TV-screened tributes we were shown of Chaplin receiving a guilt-laden standing ovation as he was presented with a special Oscar award from Hollywood's present day elite, we were not told how, in order to participate in this event, the US government granted him a visa which restricted his stay to just one month. As Geraldine revealed, he said with some pride, "Look, they're still scared of me."

Although his early films had scant respect for figures of authority, it was only in his later feature films that he incorporated some overt questioning of society, its institutions and morality. There was, however, always a vague "subversiveness" about his work, and indeed about him too! When involved in a paternity scandal (in a town where abortionists were never in short supply for the wealthy), blood tests proved conclusively that he could not have been the father of the child in question, but he was still ordered to pay maintenance by a judge who had been shocked when Chaplin casually said under cross examination that he understood it was normal practice for all married couples to engage in oral sex. In a town where every known sexual permutation was available, and where sex was readily used as an object of trade and barter, Chaplin's simple and uncomplicated heterosexuality was the only "weakness" Hollywood could at first use to roast him. Later the paranoia of Senator Joe McCarthy and his gang of Super Patriots turned their scrutiny upon him, and, allied with all the mean, score-settling jealousies that nearly always characterise a neurotic profession like his, the Un-American Activities Committee and the less lucky in the Hollywood stakes, together endured that Chaplin and his wealth were in jeopardy.

Again, the obituaries in the British press told us how he and his wife Oona O'Neil fled from this hounding before it reached its vindictive crescendo, but nobody remembered how it was only because Oona was still then an American citizen that she was able to return to the States to collect money and papers which ensured that the valuable copyrights of his films remained with them. Had this not happened then it might well have meant a very different and less comfortable old age for Chaplin and his large family.

The media has always shown an ambivalent attitude towards Chaplin, as they do anyone who seems set to live forever, and as with most artists who have known a string of great successes the media could hardly wait for a flop which would demonstrate that our hero had feet of clay, and which (importantly) would in turn justify in its own eyes the media's own sense of importance, power and purpose. The film on which they turned their wrath was "Monsieur Verdoux" which they now tell us was his masterpiece! (They also failed to point out that the majority of media people could only have seen it for the first time when it was TV-screened in 1977, since it has not otherwise been shown in Britain for 30 years!) It certainly was one of his finest films, and again he used irony to point out the contradictions and hypocrisies that exist between the individual and the State. At the film's close, he stands in a court dock condemned to death for his murders of rich women, and uses the occasion to point out how his activities are a mere drop in the ocean when compared to the murderous record of the State.

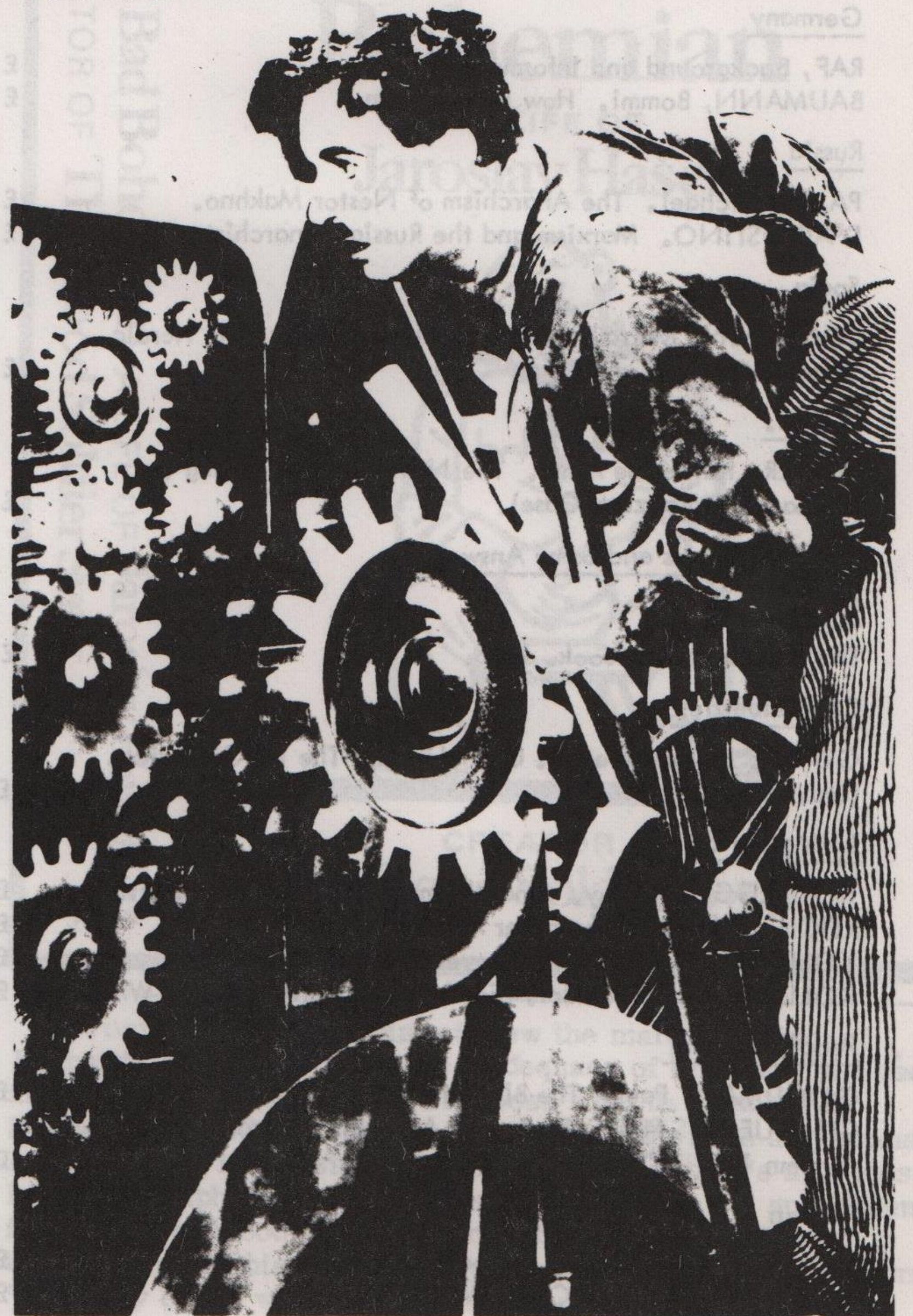
In a later film, "A King in New York" (banned in the USA at the time it was made), his son lectures him on the evils of all governments which invariably work against the best interests and freedoms of the people. "But," he gasps, "that's anarchism!"

It would be unfair to pass any judgement on Chaplin's life-style and the dichotomy between what he believed to be right and how life actually worked out for him, because it is a similar dichotomy that we all have to live with one way or another, and which we have to square with ourselves as best we can. There is however a limit to what one man can do, no matter how privileged his position in society, and Chaplin knew through personal experience just how cruel, brutal, savage and vile society can be towards those whom it wishes to smash and destroy. Most of Chaplin's battles were fought alone or later, only with the support of his devoted companion Oona. Perhaps in the last analysis it doesn't matter too much whether or not Chaplin regarded himself as an anarchist (though for what it's worth, I personally believe he did so regard himself), because it is his created work that sets a seal on his life. Just on the level of what he gave in terms of human happiness is far more important than the many daily compromises he had to make (and which we ourselves have to make, although by another supreme irony of the system, the more well-off we are, the fewer private compromises we need make!) Chaplin's prominence alone would have ensured that had his personal anarchism become more than just hinted at, then he'd have been crucified, and unlike some, we don't demand that a man be nailed on a cross in order that our philosophies be validated by blood sacrifices. And yet those who ardently support a system which daily kills the best in us, now scorn "sentimentality".

It is not sentimentality which is wrong, but stunted imaginations which dread the revelations that emotion can sometimes bring, and which can sometimes be more devastating in their conclusions than any amount of intellectualising. In such instants, the irrational can be demolished by the irrational, leaving one with a reality which holds a lot LESS than most people at present are prepared to accept. It is this truth that the anti-sentimentalists will not countenance at any price, and Chaplin was wise enough to know this and ignore them. His "message" in any case wasn't aimed at them, and like all good craftsmen, he simply did the best he could at the trade and occupation he knew best. It was right for him, and rewarding and enriching for the rest of us, and I shall remember him with warmth and affection.

DAVE GODIN.

"Modern Times" 1937.



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This is a supplement to our main booklist (for which send s.a.e.) published in September 1977. All these titles have appeared since then. Please convert at £ 1.00 = \$2.00.

MARCH 1978

Theoretical Writings

KROPOTKIN, Peter. Anarchism (from Enc. Brit.). £ 0.25p

Early 20th Century

BERKMAN, Alexander & Goldman, Emma. Nowhere at Home. Letters from exile of Emma Goldman & Alexander Berkman. Edited by Richard & Anna Maria Drinnon. Paperback. £ 4.95p

Related Ideologies

THOMPSON, Fred. W. & MURFIN, Patrick. The I.W.W. - Its first Seventy Years. 1905-1975. £ 2.75p

Surveys

Britain

HOLTON, Bob. British Syndicalism 1900-1914. £ 2.95p

Germany

RAF, Background and Information. £ 0.20p
BAUMANN, Bommi. How it all Began. £ 2.00p

Russia

PALIJ, Michael. The Anarchism of Nestor Makhno. £10.95p
D'AGOSTINO. Marxism and the Russian Anarchists. £ 2.00p

Spain

BOOKCHIN, Murray. The Spanish Anarchists: The Heroic Years 1868-1936. £ 6.95p

U.S.A.

PORTER, Katherine Anne. The Never-Ending Wrong (on the Sacco & Vanzetti Case). £ 2.90p

Social Problems and Some Answers

Housing

The Squatters Handbook. 1978. £ 0.20p

Civil Liberties

GRANT, Lawrence et al. Civil Liberty: The NCCL Guide. (3rd. Ed.). £ 1.75p

Living our Lives

KORNEGGER, Peggy. Anarchism: The Feminist Connection. £ 0.25p
REICH, Wilhelm. Character Analysis. £ 4.50p
KOLLONTAI, Alexandra. Love of Worker Bees. £ 2.50p
KOLLONTAI, Alexandra. (Ed. by Alix Holt) Selected Writings. £ 2.95p

People Writing

GOODMAN, Paul. The Black Flag of Anarchy. £ 0.15p
CIENFUEGOS PRESS Review of Anarchist Literature No. 3 Autumn 1977. £ 2.00p

Fiction

LITVINOFF, Emmanuel. Blood on the Snow. £ 3.75p
GODWIN, William. Caleb Williams. £ 1.50p

BOOKSHOP NOTES

Biography

PARROTT, Cecil. The Bad Bohemian: A Biography of Jaroslav Hasek. £10.00p

Poetry

PATCHEN, Kenneth. Love & War Poems. £ 0.30p
*McGONAGALL, William. The Tay Bridge Disaster: Three Poems (illust.). £ 0.50p
*ANON. Tom O'Bedlam. Poster Poem (assorted colours). £ 0.20p

The Little Press Scene

Association of Little Presses (U.K.) Little Press Books in Print (1977). (4th Ed.). £ 0.45p



Miscellaneous

SPENCE, Martin. National Liberation and State Power: An Anarchist Critique of the MPLA in Angola. £ 0.20p
ALBERT, Michael. What is to be undone: A Modern Revolutionary Discussion of classical left ideologies. £ 2.50p
PATON, Keith. Alternative Socialism. £ 0.30p

Magazines

Interrogations. International Review of Anarchist Research. (in English/French/Italian and Spanish). Nos. 11 & 12 are now also available. All issues now £ 1.00 each.

Anarchismo: Rivista bienstrale (in Italian). Nos. 14-18 incl. are now also available. All issues are £ 0.50p each.

The following items from our original booklist are now out of print or otherwise unobtainable until further notice.

- E.H. Carr. The Romantic Exiles.
- Pierre-Joseph Proudhon. Selected Writings (Ed. Edwards).
- Alexander Berkman. What is Communist Anarchism? (Parts 2 & 3 of this are, of course, still available as Freedom Press' own ABC of Anarchism at £ 0.50p).
- Gerald Rurkle. Anarchism, Old & New.
- Robert Baldick. The Siege of Paris.
- Corinne Nader. The Haymarket Affair.
- Lewis Mumford. The Highway and the City.
- "Politics Today". The Roots of Terror.
- NCCL. Against Censorship.
- Emmanuel Litvinoff. A Death out of Season.
- Victor Serge. The Case of Comrade Tulayev.
- B. Traven. The Rebellion of the Hanged.
- Herbert Read. Education through Art.
- Stuart Christie & Albert Meltzer. Floodgates of Anarchy.
- Max Stirner. The Ego & his Own.
- Olga Lang. Pa Chin and his Writings.
- George Woodcock. Gandhi.
- George Woodcock. Pierre-Joseph Proudhon: His Life & Work.
- Emma Goldman. My disillusionment in Russia.
- Emma Goldman. The Place of the Individual in Society.